3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

products. However, his visit may have followed a season when no crop was planted on account of late rains, such as Kino[56] cited in 1701 in the vicinity of San Rafael del Actúm Grande (in southern Arizona), where no maize had been raised by the Papago that year because of a like situation. Pa 174 241

All our informants agreed that wild plants and animals formerly constituted a much larger, and much more dependable, fraction of the total Papago food supply than did cultivated plants. Seasonally women devoted themselves to the gathering of wild foods while men and boys hunted rabbits. When the wild foods ripened, large quantities were gathered and stored, but, just before the giant cactus harvest, food became very scarce, as indicated by one of their names for the period that would correspond to our month of May, *ko'ohk macaṭ*, "the painful moon." One informant said that when he was a boy it was not uncommon to "be so hungry [261] that a person became dizzy when he stood up." As in the past, so today, the Papago utilize much more wild plant and animal food than do the Pima; in fact, it is now comparatively rare to find the Pima gathering wild foods of any kind, while many Papago still utilize them to some extent as a matter of necessity, for Papago agriculture is today almost as precarious as in olden times. Pa 174 262 222 224 Pa [261] Pi [262 222]

Underhill[57] has well pointed out that poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Much the same outlook is still to be observed among the Pima, despite their deculturation. The Pimans did not hoard property; they were constantly making gifts, chiefly of food, for their food supply, meagre though it seems viewed from our standard of living, was more than sufficient for their simple needs, and anything beyond the bare necessities for sustaining life was regarded as a surplus. Papago migratory life, involving the difficulty of food storage, added to the problems of preserving food in so hot a land, greatly fostered Pa 174 511 431 Pi [511]

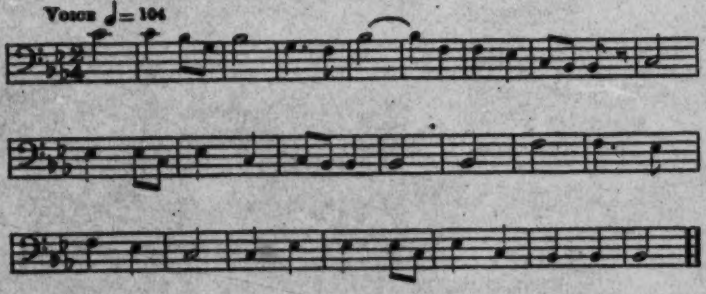
[56] Bolton, *loc. cit.*
[57] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 90-4.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X539 273 them to take the fruit to a house, mash it and boil it about an hour and a half, then they were told to strain it through a matting of grass, put it in an olla and seal it up. His mother said to the people, "Now you must do something in return for this." A young man said, "What can we do? We do not know about this." Then the child began to sing the following song. It was the first of many songs, probably more than a hundred, which he gave to the people, saying they were to be used in a ceremony to bring rain.

X533 No. 104. "I Draw the Rain" (Catalogue No. 1073)

Recorded by JOSE ANTOIN



TRANSLATION

Here I am sitting and with my power I draw the south wind toward me. After the wind I draw the clouds, and after the clouds I draw the rain that makes the wild flowers grow on our home ground and look so beautiful.

Analysis.—This melody has a compass of nine tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of the compass. The tonality is major but half the intervals are minor thirds. No change of time occurs in the song. A quarter note followed by two eighth notes occurs three times, forming part of longer and different phrases. A reversal of these count divisions also occurs, but neither seems a rhythmic unit of the song.

X539 273 Antoin said, "This is the way in which the tiswin ceremony started, and that is why we believe that if we make tiswin and go through the same action as when the custom was started we will have rain that day or very soon." [34]

X539 273 261 The child told the people to continue this custom as long as there were any Papago living, and said that if they ever stopped this custom there would be no more rain. He said that the people must eat wild vegetables and that if they ever stopped eating wild food they would lose their vitality and not be able to stand exposure. (The informant said he will believe this as long as he lives, for he sees conditions as

[34] A different tradition is given by Russell, op. cit., pp. 313, 364, 3[illegible].

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

they were predicted. He said, "At that time men wore nothing but the G string. They rose before daylight and went out to look for Apache. See! If young men do this now they get sick and can stand nothing; they take cold and die.")

Preparations for the saguaro festival began in June when the fruit of the saguaro cactus was gathered. The fruit grows at the top of the cactus, which is a column 20 to 40 feet in height. The implement used in gathering the fruit is a long pole with a hook at the end. Much importance is attached to the shape of the hook, and the group of stars known as the Big Dipper is called the Cactus Hook because of a fancied resemblance. The work of gathering the fruit and making the sirup was done in places called cactus camps, several families combining in the work. The equipment of such a camp consisted of a thatch in a tree, on which the cactus fruit was spread to dry, and a covered fireplace. A few ollas were usually left in the camp and were not disturbed by travelers. A deserted camp south of Santa Rosa was visited and photographed. (Pl. 19, *a*, *b*.)

The cactus fruit was boiled in water, strained through a mat of grass or branches to remove seeds, etc., the juice was then boiled down to a sirup and placed in ollas, and sealed with a bit of broken pottery covered with mud. At the time of the ceremony these ollas were opened and the sirup mixed with water and allowed to ferment, making "tiswin." Smaller ollas were also filled for household use, as the sirup mixed with water and not fermented is a pleasing drink in hot weather. The sirup might be either light or heavy and could be kept for a year. If kept for a long time the color became dark. A similar drink was made from the fruit of the "organ-pipe" cactus.

The following incident was related concerning one of these camps. It was said that while the older people were busy with their work seven children strayed away from the camp and were lost. Their parents searched for them several days but could not find them. In the camp there was a man whose dreams usually came true. When the parents could not find the children they went to him. One night he "dreamed a song" and the next morning he saddled a pony and went to a place called Vitnikût. When he got to the place he found footprints of children and followed them all over the mountain. Finally he saw a boy in the bushes. He got down, tied his horse, and went toward the boy. When the boy saw the man coming he ran farther into the bushes, told the other children and they all ran away. The man chased and finally caught them and brought them home. They had been lost for eight days and would have perished without water.

The song heard by the medicine man in his dream told him that the children had not died of thirst. It had rained where they were and the water had stayed in a little "water hole." The children had

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

straw, barley, or wheat, the usual feed for animals. If our horses had not been hardy creatures of the desert, we should not have been able to move about much at that time of the year. I decided to return to Menager's store, at present called Indian Oasis, where we might succeed in securing forage.

A Papago was an efficient clerk in the store. Near by was a small village of civilized Indians; the women, who had been to school near Tucson, after a while responded in English, very softly spoken. A phonograph, which was the only one I saw in the Papagueria, was produced and operated for my entertainment. Many Indians came into the store from the neighboring country. As they were not in the habit of carrying provisions, they were hungry and looked it. I treated them to a generous breakfast and my reward was the information which they volunteered concerning one of their festivals, connected with the gathering of the fruit of the sahuaro, the giant cactus. It was to take place the next day at a rancheria called Noria, situated in the Comobabi Mountains at no great distance, and I decided to go there.

Opportunely for my journey, in the evening of July 4 unusually heavy rain fell during forty-five minutes, the storm making short work of my tent which I decided to leave behind here on account of its being so large and inconvenient. Nearly an inch of rain must have fallen, bringing about in this brief space of time a remarkable change in the appearance of the landscape. The dry creek ran with water and the playa below was changed into a shallow lake, the frogs filling the air with their loud,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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609 sion, the Indians taking us to be *celadores* or mounted inspectors from the Sasabe custom-house, who at uncertain and mostly long intervals make tours along the border line. There are two hundred miles from Sasabe to the Colorado River, but the inspectors seldom or never go beyond Sonoita. The Indians seemed relieved at being correctly informed and were kind and gentle. [191] They no doubt understand Spanish, but if spoken to would answer only in Papago. Two kinds of small [136] wading birds were noticed at the dam and in the morning up to noon the coyotes would fearlessly come to drink. Some Mexican cowboys passing by lassoed one and then let it go again.

241 On the day of our departure we passed one of the fine fields which the Papagoes have here. The maize had been stored away, but two huge heaps of squashes were piled on the field; near one of them sat two women, cutting them up into long ribbons. When nearly dry these are folded up in convenient bundles and kept for winter use. There was only one small jacal in the middle of this field of plenty, and thither I directed my steps to buy some watermelons. Here also was a woman mak- 241 ing squash ribbons, great numbers of which were hang- 251 ing, festoon-like, to dry from the branches of a tree outside.

● 261 All these women came from other parts of the country 476 and were preparing to take away as much as they wished in accordance with the ancient custom which prevails at harvest time of those who have sharing with those who are less fortunate. If a Papago is known to have been

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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successful in his harvest, he will be visited by friends, relatives, and many others who have no claim on him other than the fact that they are Papago; they come to get *niári*, as they call it, many remaining with him for days. He is bound by custom to give presents of agricultural products to every one who comes. Some year when he has had a bad crop, he, in turn, may resort to niári.

At the locality where I found myself at present, Indians will in the season come for this purpose from as far away as Bisani and Quitovac. Nobody is refused, for the custom is binding and absolute. With the inroads of civilization and the accompanying disintegration of the tribe, many families are unable to practice agriculture at all; these and others, at harvest time, go visiting and return with their donkeys and mules laden with agricultural gifts. Also in May, when the wheat is being cut, the Papagoes gather from many parts at the places of those who have anything; they help in harvesting, but receive rewards even if they do not, according to the dictates of ancient hospitality. Among most of the Papagoes of Arizona the custom of niári has died out, though these natives are always hospitable and in some regions place food before the visitor even if the family is not eating. "To arrive at a Papago house is like coming to one's relatives," said Alberto, my driver.

The woman who was sitting outside of the hut was a widow from Quitovac and had no field. She had been visiting the houses of the rancheria for a month, helping the families a little by grinding corn on the metate, and

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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having a delightful time meeting friends and enjoying the gifts of autumn. "When she decides to go home she will receive loads of provisions of the new year," remarked my interpreter. One of the principal men of Quitovac was making a round of calls for the same purpose. He had only a small field himself, for at Quitovac there is much competition with the Mexicans, but, as an Indian said, "he has only to sit down; all is coming to him."

On our arrival at La Nariz, Thursday, November 11, a cold, disagreeable wind from south south-west was blowing over the llano, after dark changing to westerly, whereupon it suddenly became northerly and warmer, the sky clearing of some threatening clouds in the south. In the small hours of the morning I awoke, to my surprise, from light rain falling on my tent, which lasted for half an hour. I had made friends among the Indians at the last place visited, and their compatriots here did their best to be obliging. The next day all the men gathered outside of my tent, and we had a five hours' talk on matters of interest to both sides. La Nariz is an Indian rancheria, its name being derived from a near-by mountain which, from a certain point of view, presents the profile of a human face with a well-marked nose.

There were only five families here living in rectangular houses of ocotillo poles laid horizontally and plastered with mud. I found them pleasant to deal with and anxious to preserve what there was left to them of ancient beliefs and customs. The soul of this endeavor was an elderly medicine-man, the principal man of the place. Two medicine lodges were noticed here, one of them

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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only more shallow. On the rocks were pictographs of the same kind and design as may be seen elsewhere in the district, as, for instance, near Caborca. Turkey vultures have a breeding place on the top; according to my guide, who has seen the young here, these birds make no nests.

Inside of the houses of the Indians in these parts, I often noticed skins of the peccary, called in Mexico *javalin*, the meat of which is much relished by the Papagoes; also skins of the mountain-sheep, deer, and lynx were seen. The Papagoes are exceedingly fond of meat. One day at La Nariz a young steer was killed. Generous parts of the carcass were distributed to those who had helped to butcher it, and everybody in the afternoon, including ourselves, was invited to come and "eat meat." The meat was broiled on coals, each person preparing his portion for himself, and this feasting was kept up until eleven o'clock that night. The participants actually arose earlier than usual, long before sunrise, to broil more meat and continue the banquet. Nothing else was consumed, not even tortillas, and in the afternoon very little of the beast was left.

At the so-called Temporales, where Mexicans from Sonoita and Quitovac practise dry farming, besides the usual forms of Indian corn, a kind of maize that matures in about two months is cultivated. It is called *maiz de los Yumas*, is white in color, and the ears are small. I saw some that had been planted in the beginning of August and which was ripe by the middle of October. The rains rarely fall here before August. Frost usually appears the 1st or 2d of November. This year it came on November

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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317 hundred meters in diameter and at long intervals covered by the sea, is still popular also with many Papagoes north of the boundary line. Their expeditions pass La Nariz, Espuma, and Chujubabi, and the time to go there is in April and October. Sometimes there is no salt found, when those Indians who are in the habit of visiting there come to the Pinacate salina.

[484 721] 317 783 The expeditions to the salt deposit, where we had our present camp, used to consist of thirty or forty men—"as many as when going to fight the Apaches," to use the expression of the most prominent leader of these expeditions to-day, whom I met at Santa Rosa in Arizona. In this case, however, they are all unarmed. On the road to [261] and from the salina the Indians eat and drink very little, their only food being pinole, a handful to each, three times a day, eaten in the morning before the start, at noon, and in the afternoon. It is mixed with water, and whatever little may stick to the cup after its contents have been eaten is buried in a hole made in the ground. Nobody drinks water without permission; they wait until the leader tells them to do so, and drink only when told to stop on the march. The party travels very silently, only elderly men who have undertaken the journey before talk, and nobody turns around either on the journey out or on the return. No member of the expedition can scratch himself unless he uses for the purpose a special implement made from a twig of the greasewood.

In the evenings going and coming they receive instructions from the leader concerning the care that must be

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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may be seen playing harmoniously together, where a similar gathering of small Caucasians would soon result in discord, fights, and tears. The children and young girls have three kinds of chewing gum; the one which is most commonly used has been mentioned already, another is procured from the pod of a vine which comes early and dries in July; by squeezing the pod a milk is secured which when boiled yields a gummy substance. These natives never shake hands; they come and go and are never obtrusive. In the circumstances under which I travelled, I liked that custom; it made me feel independent and equally polite. When an Indian comes to shake hands with me, I know he has changed his mode of life, for one may be sure that he learned that custom from Americans or Mexicans. Their language is not sonorous, as it is full of guttural sounds and half-pronounced syllables. Four is their sacred number.

In the autumn of 1909 there was a mild epidemic of an eye disease among the Papagoes of Sonora as far west as La Nariz. The eyes were red and inflamed, as in conjunctivitis, and the pain evidently was very great. They probably contracted this disease from the Mexicans.

In his changed habits of life, inhabiting houses that do not admit air and adopting clothes that debilitate his magnificent physique, the Papago, when he catches cold, is unable to throw it off in the same way that a white man does. It very often develops into pneumonia and consumption, which awful disease is the scourge of the tribe, nine out of ten deaths being due to tuberculosis. The children bring it from school and even old people

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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844 she takes up her abode in the hohólikaki where she remains for over three weeks. She bears her child *accroupie* assisted by her mother or elder sister; sometimes an elderly woman is specially chosen for this, acting as
846 midwife. Formerly, for six days thereafter, the food was
[262] made for the mother and brought to her, the diet for the first two days consisting of *atole blanco*, a kind of thin gruel made of maize or sometimes wheat, mixed with the seeds of the sahuaro fruit. Now, in imitation of Mexican custom, the period is extended to twenty days. The husband during this time uses a different gourd from the rest of the family when he drinks water.

553 Twenty days after the wife has returned from her
● 261 seclusion the medicine-man comes to the house to give the baby clay to eat and present it with a name. The clay has the same name, *pit*, as that used in pottery making, and it does not look in anywise different. In the afternoon, after having mixed a small quantity with water and placed the mixture in a sea-shell on the ground, he takes up a position east of it, while the parents, with the infant, stand to the west. He walks four times toward them, the last time hooting low like an owl. The parents have to take the drink first, then the baby. If the child is male, the medicine-man gives it to the mother first; if it is female the father drinks first. In administering the drink to the child, he also gives it a name, which the grandparents previously have agreed upon; with his eagle plumes he makes passes over the infant, and with the same object sprinkles some of the water on its chest, shoulders, and back. The advan-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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553 tages which the child gains are supposed to be health,
•261 strength, and luck; untoward happenings are also pre-
[777] vented even to the family itself. If the birth occurred
in the season of thunder-storms, the danger to the child,
or a near relative, of being killed by lightning will be
553 averted. For four days after the ceremony the parents
abstain from eating salt and jack-rabbit meat, and they
must not do much work; the father cannot hunt.

837 The natural characteristic of the Papago is to be vir-
684 tuous. According to Indian reports, a woman caught in
adultery used to be punished with death. In recent times
whipping has been the penalty and the custom of killing
184 her animals still prevails. The tribe has been notably
stable in racial qualities during centuries of contact with
whites. Intermixture to-day rarely takes place except
in Sonora, where the Mexicans have taught the Indians
new customs. In the out-of-the-way places of southern
Arizona a few Americans are known to have Papago
wives; they have children and to all appearances are
known to lead happy lives, for the lady of the house is in-
telligent, quite good-looking, clean, and very industrious.
During my stay at Sonoita several couples came to be
married by the civil authority there.

682 Murder was left to the family of the murdered person
to punish. From an American who speaks their lan-
838 guage and lives in the central part of the Papagueria, I
received what I must accept as reliable information with
regard to unnatural vice, which perhaps may be more or
less restricted to that locality. Several startling instances
were told me by him and also by a trustworthy Indian

261

4. CHEWING

Mesquite, *kui (Prosopis velutina)* ---------- gum chewed
White brittlebush, *tuhawus (Encelia farinosa)* ---------- gum chewed
Milkweed vine *u'upa't (Philibertella heterophylla)* ---------- gum chewed
Ocotillo, *miro'k (Fouquieria splendens)* ---------- honey chewed

The lumps of clear white gum-like secretion found on the branches of the mesquite bush *(Prosopis velutina)* were gathered by the basketfull, and might be chewed just as they were found, or they might be dried and then ground on the metate. The dried granules could be mixed with sahuaro syrup and eaten like jam, or be ground up again with any of several species of cactus seed, then boiled in sweet, thick gruel which hardened like candy when it cooled. Children chewed the secretion from the white brittlebush *(Encelia farinosa)*, while the gum-like secretion oozing from the stem of the milkweed vine *(Philibertella heterophylla)* was placed on a piece of broken olla over the coals. When heated, it became rubbery and children chewed long strings of it.

Nectar pressed out of ocotillo blossoms *(Fouquieria splendens)* hardens when dry like rock candy. This is chewed as a delicacy.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

SMALL GAME

262 Black-tailed jackrabbit, *teu'k teu:wi* ---------- *(Lepus californicus)*
White-tailed jackrabbit, *s'toa teu:wi* ---------- *(Lepus alleni)*
Cottontail rabbit, *to:pi* ---------- *(Lepus arizonae)*
Packrat, *ko:son* ---------- *(Neotama albigula)*
Round-tailed ground squirrel *ci:ri'k* ---------- *(Citellus tereticandus)*
Merriam pocket mouse, *naha'kio* ---------- *(Perognatus spinatus)*
Kangaroo rat, *tahiwua* ---------- *(Dipodops sp.)*
Gambel quail, *kakaitcu* ---------- *(Lophortyx gambelii)*
Mourning dove ---------- *(Zenaidura macroura)*

224 The Papagos differed from their neighbors in that their procedure with these small animals was to shoot them with [410] bow and arrow, rather than to trap or club them. For the purpose they used arrows of creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)* with a wooden tip hardened in the fire.

[261] The Papagos considered cottontail meat sweet and jackrabbit poor. However, jackrabbit was the one meat available at all seasons, though in spring the animals were so thin as to be almost useless.

Rabbit shooting was usually done by the boys. The one exception was the rabbit hunt held in recent times just before the drinking ceremony. For this there was a regular director who also functioned in games. The Papago hunt differed from the Pueblo practice in that no stick was used and women did not take part.

The hunt took place in spring. All the men and boys engaged formed a circle about two miles in diameter with a line of the best bowman at one point. These men remained stationary while the circle converged and drove the rabbits toward them. All the killing was done with bow and arrow.

Rats and squirrels were hunted systematically at their holes. The packrat, largest of the group, was a very common food, and as it builds its nest surrounded with thorny cholla joints *(Opuntia* sp.), the process was to scare it out. Ground squirrels were smaller and less desirable, while pocket mice were too small but were eaten in "the hungry time." The kangaroo rat was a last resource.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Gambel quail was the most important food bird. It was trapped in a very rough cage of split giant cactus ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Mourning doves might also be caught in it though these were usually shot with arrows when they were roosting at dusk; they are still hunted and used as food. No bird eggs were ever used.

REPTILES AND WORMS

The desert tortoise *(Gopherus agassizii)*, known as *komaktci't*, was not hunted but people seeing one would take it home and cook it for food.

The worms used were, when young, about an inch long and yellow, but they matured in a few days and turned green. They appeared in quantities just after or during the rainy season on any green growth, especially the amaranth *(Amaranthus palmeri)*. Everyone dropped work to gather them, for they were considered a great delicacy.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

The Papago pets in the old days were dogs *(Canis familiaris)* and a few species of birds. Dogs were used to guard the houses, rarely for hunting. The breed was a small white one, in build like a coyote *(Canis lestes)* but with softer fur and only half the size. Coyotes were kept as pets if captured young.

Arrow feathers were obtained from a species of hawk *(Accipiter* sp.), and these were housed in wicker cages and fed with rats and lizards. The tail feathers were pulled whenever they grew long enough. Spanish accounts speak of a number of macaws *(Ara* sp.) being kept for their feathers at San Xavier (27), but this being before Papago occupancy there is no tradition of it.

Father Kino (3) at the beginning of the eighteenth century distributed droves of horses *(Equus caballus)*, cattle *(Bos taurus)*, sheep *(Ovis aries)*, and goats *(Capra hircus)* to all his missions and to many villages where he hoped to establish missions later.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
● 261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
891 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
888 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
[462] ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.